UNITY

FREEDOM FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

(Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Editor 1880-1918)

Editors

John Haynes Holmes Francis Neilson

Will America Watch Christianity Die?

By Bishop NICOLAI
of the Greek Catholic Church of Serbia

Responsibility for the Russian Famine

By ARTHUR L. WEATHERLY

How to Evolve a Better World

By HARIDAS MUZUMDAR

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UNITY

"HE HATH MADE OF ONE ALL NATIONS OF MEN"

Vol. LXXXVIII. THURSDAY, DECEMBER 1, 1921 Number 12

Will America Watch Christianity Die?*

Bishop Nicolai of the Greek Catholic Church of Serbia

As a moral agency the Christian Church is functioning badly. Humankind, rendered emotionally and psychologically receptive by the tremendous mental and moral experiences of the war, is not turning to the Church for its comfort. When yearning, stimulated minds reach out for comfort in religion, only to find that the religions are divided against themselves, those minds draw back, wondering if, after all, it really is in the Church that comfort lies.

One church proclaims Church authority as the great requisite to soul salvation; another declares healing of the sick by faith and the belief in that creed to be essential to complete and fructifying Christianity; a third insists upon acceptance of the dogma of the Trinity; a fourth requires faith in Christ's second coming; a fifth demands contemplation as the main part of worship; a sixth links itself inseparably to mysticism; a seventh cries that real salvation comes through works alone.

The division of the Christians of the world into small groups, each sealed in its own room with no communicating doors between—that is the thing which balks the Church as a great influence, which holds humanity, prone to aspire, in check upon the verge of aspiration.

Revolted by such conditions, the intellectual classes have been driven to agnosticism or atheism; the classes of mid-intellectual development have been kept out of the Church entirely, *or have been converted into that soul smugness which is so great a threat;* the lower classes who lack the time to think or have not reached an intellectual development enabling them to think alone *have been poisoned by the chauvinism of one creed or another.*

And so Christianity is dying in the world.

Cannot America give birth to the Church which will be so broad that all humanity can hear its promises, find its comfort, realize its perfect Christlike reasonableness?

I shall go further than to say that you in the United States are capable of producing this great boon for all humanity. I shall declare my firm belief that you are now in process of producing it.

It is not yet organized and it does not yet appear as one Church even in the minds of those individuals who—unconsciously, I think, in most instances—are vigorously promoting it. In the United States the Church already has thousands of communicants who call themselves undenominational, and, in your various interdenominational movements, evidence of your splendid influence towards Christian unity.

Cannot you organize from American Christianity this Church of the Great Light—inclusive as Christ is—the Church of Good Will? I suggest no operation of destruction for Churches as they are. But cannot religious thought in the United States, the land of freedom and fearlessness, say to all: Retain membership in your own Church as you retain citizenship in your own state, but join also the Church of the Great Light, accepting membership in it as you accept citizenship in the United States?

You may be a New Yorker, a Californian, an Ohioan, but in spite of that, because of that, beyond all that you are an American.

So you may be a Baptist, or a Methodist, or an Episcopalian, or a Christian Scientist, but beyond that you will be a full communicant of the Church of the Great Light, getting from this membership something spiritual comparable to that of far less but of mighty import which you get from citizenship in the United States. Be you Roman Catholic or Puritan you can belong to the Church of the Great Light.

There, I say, is the great opportunity of the United States. In your national life you have been educated to broad tolerance. You will not permanently hold to even slight intolerance in your religious thought. With charity toward all and with malice toward none, by the Grace of God—free. Make the effort, you American Christians! Rise to new heights in religion as your fathers ascended to new heights in humanitarianism and political thought. *Let those of you who find existing churches narrow and cramping build one which shall be broad and will not cramp! Forget denomination and remember Jesus Christ!*

I have watched the progress of America with a thrilling heart. This is the nation which accomplishes impossibilities. Gather up your strength. Rally your tremendous power of leadership; correct the error of the centuries; create the Church of which Christ himself laid down the outlines and of which he spoke the creed: Love ye one another.

The gate of Christianity is closed for the man who has not fulfilled the first law. Let America produce the Church which may.

* Printed in the *Universalist Leader.*

We have given over the entire first page of this issue of UNITY to the great appeal to America by Bishop Nicolai of the Greek Catholic Church of Serbia, because we believe it to be the most important religious document of our time. The great churchman, one of the most distinguished in Europe, states what UNITY has been stating consistently for years, that "Christianity is dying in the world." He diagnoses the disease where we have found it—in denominationalism. And he calls, as we have called, for a new and all-inclusive church which shall represent the unification in one great social institution of all the forces of Christendom. "Let those of you," he cries, "who find existing churches narrow and cramping build one which shall be broad and will not cramp! *Forget denomination and remember Jesus Christ.*" The answer to this challenge, the program for the realization of this ideal, is the community church not the final answer; not the perfect program! But the thing which points straightest and truest today toward the goal! We like the Bishop's slogan of the "Church of the Great Light." As we look upon the glowing splendor of this vision of spiritual unity, we marvel that anybody can linger amid the miasmic mists of the lowlands of denominationalism. Not much longer will men stay there. America will rise to the Bishop's call and build the church for which he pleads.

We are delighted to find conservatives, liberals and radicals all agreeing that the Hughes program at the Conference for the Limitation of Armaments is a good beginning. We are amazed that many of them should seem to be thinking that it is a good ending as well. These enthusiasts will apparently be satisfied, in other words, if the nations scrap their dreadnaughts, proclaim the ten years' holiday, and go home! But this procedure, whatever it may mean from the standpoint of economy, signifies little from the standpoint of disarmament. The next war is not going to be fought with dreadnaughts, but with submarines, aeroplanes and poisonous gases. "Building battleships," says Sir Percy Scott, "is a policy of the insane." The Hughes program sensibly recognizes this fact, and begins where all may most easily agree. But if the Conference stops at this point, and leaves the nations to do as they will with the real weapons of the hour, not only will the problem of war and armament be as menacing as ever, but it is doubtful if even economy will be achieved. The scrapping of the expensive and useless dreadnaughts will only release vast sums for flying machines and chemicals, and thus result not in a reduction but in a redistribution of expense. It is time that the ecstatic joy over the Hughes proposal, which serves to reveal only how little anybody ever expected of the Conference anyway, were succeeded by a grim determination to push ahead. The little thus far won has come only as a consequence of such an awakened and vocal public sentiment as America has not seen in a generation. Now let this tide of popular intelligence and will roll in upon Washington in such a flood, that something *real* will at last be done!

Arthur Balfour's objection to the ten years' naval holiday, as suggested by Secretary Hughes, was interesting. He seemed to fear that, if the construction of dreadnaughts were altogether suspended for the period of a decade, dockyards would rot, machinery deteriorate, workers be thrown out of employment, and—worst consequence of all!—the art of building warships be altogether lost! This is indeed a dire fate that our Secretary of State would thus visit upon the world. Could any prospect be more dreadful than that of losing the facilities and even the art of constructing dreadnaughts! It's almost as terrible to think of the world, ten years hence, with this art gone forever, as it is to think of a world of brotherhood, centuries hence, with what De Quincey called "the gentle art of murder" wholly lost! Balfour spoke a timely word of warning! It is well for us to remember, before we get swept away by any silly sentimentalism, that the world exists for the sake of building dreadnaughts—that nations exist for practically the exclusive purpose of maintaining armies and navies (as witness the 93 per cent of the U. S. budget appropriated for wars past and future)—that if we had no wars or rumors of wars, there would be really nothing to live for. Sanity, gentlemen, sanity; above all things, *sanity!*

The Pope seems to us to be on the right track when he calls on the Washington Conference to abolish conscription. We may scrap our dreadnaughts and cut down our standing armies till the cows come home—or the next war comes! but so long as nations may conscript and train their entire adult manhood for military purposes, we shall have accomplished little or nothing in the way of disarmament. As long as men are thus made available, weapons will be found for them to use in battle. But how can we abolish conscription? And if we get rid of this vast enginery of compulsory service by some kind of agreement or fiat, why not go further and get rid of war altogether? If we are able to abolish one thing, in other words, why not abolish everything, and be done with it? It's a sound objection and marks clearly, as Mr. Wells has pointed out, the limits of this business of limitation. Conscription, we believe, will never be wiped out by any governmental action. The only way to blight this poisonous growth, is for the people to refuse to serve! When there are enough men who prefer the prison to the barracks, conscription will break down of itself, and war become suddenly for all nations an extra-hazardous occupation.

After all, there is nothing truer than the simple fact that "we the people" have it in our power to get rid at once of anything that we do not want!

Robert Dell, Paris correspondent of that greatest of all newspapers, the *Manchester Guardian,* was one of the few radicals in Europe who persisted in cherishing hope of the successful functioning of the League of Nations as a beneficial international influence. His attendance on the sessions of the Assembly of the League at Geneva this past summer, however, thoroughly disillusioned him. He has been making his confessions in recent issues of the *Nation* and the *Freeman,* and they make melancholy reading. Observation of what was done, and not done, at the sessions at Geneva, convinced him, he reports, that the League "is becoming little more than a branch establishment of the British Empire." His conclusion, as laid down in the *Nation* for November 16, is that "this league of governments called League of Nations is an organized hypocrisy." This judgment of Dell, an original sympathizer, is to be given something at least of the character of finality. Hard-headed and scholarly men, working with the League on the inside, are persuaded that it amounts to something because they see some wheels going round. Amiable sentimentalists, looking at the League from the outside, are moved by the spectacle of representatives of various nations gathered in a single room, and think it means the coming of the millennium. But here is a trained journalist, of unquestioned character, long experience and liberal opinions, who wants to believe that the League is "a way out" of present chaos, and finds himself confounded. It is "an organized hypocrisy," he says at last! Is not the debate closed?

The recommendations of the Russian Commission of the Near East Relief are in line with the position taken by Commander Greenfell of the English navy, referred to in another column. The chairman of the commission is Albert A. Johnson, director of the New York State Institute of Applied Agriculture. Mr. Paxton Hibben, at one time secretary to the American embassy at Petrograd, is one of the members. This Commission, after a tour through the famine area along the Volga and in Armenia, recommends to Secretary Hoover that the United States enter at once into a trade agreement with Soviet Russia. The report states that Russia is solvent and is able to give ample security for whatever she might need to tide her over the present crisis. An interesting comment in the report is its reference to the soviet officials. They "are uniformly earnest, hard-working, and to all appearances sincere men, as well equipped for their work as the average officials in any country." Thus slowly the wave of propaganda recedes to the lowest pit of hell whence it came. The report also emphasizes the need of transportation, and the fact that surplus food supplies are in Roumania and Bulgaria. When will governments take their hands off from the throats of starving women and children?

Responsibility for the Russian Famine

The Russian situation fills every sympathetic man and woman in America with a feeling of horror. Twenty millions of people in the agonies of starvation is a catastrophe too great for adjectives. Its very immensity tends to inhibit action. We are almost if not quite paralyzed by it.

If this were not so, we would be thinking of the causes of such a calamity and as a people would demand that the causes be removed. But we seem to be blind to the fact that what Russia needs is trade and commerce with the world. And we are equally blind to the fact that the world needs Russia almost if not quite as much as Russia needs the world.

Commander Greenfell of the Royal Navy, who was naval attache to the British embassy at Petrograd from 1912 to 1917, in an article in the September number of *Foreign Affairs,* adds his testimony to that of many other well informed witnesses. Speaking of the practical side of the problem of Russian relief, Commander Greenfell says, "It is, of course, the political difficulties and disabilities *which hinder the Russian authorities from taking some of the more simple and immediately effective steps to ease the position.* In spite of the great territorial extent of the calamity which has befallen Russia, it is probable that within that country, taken as a whole with Siberia, there still exists enough food to supply the bare existence requirements of the entire population; provided only that this can be made (a) available, and (b) transportable and distributable. To render these stocks more readily available, *the first need is the presence in Russia of goods of kinds that the peasant requires, those articles of primary importance for which he will readily exchange his produce."* The Commander goes on to say, "These are well known; large quantities of them already exist in Germany, Great Britain and America, *and the last two countries are now suffering from extensive unemployment due to the want of markets."*

Norman Hapgood is a student of international affairs whose testimony is entitled to more than mere respect. In an address recently given before the Unitarian Laymen's League at Petersham, Mass., he said, "The way to cure Russia of her ills is not to try to work out her problems for her, but to enter into close relations with her, trade and otherwise."

John E. Hobson, the British economist, has said repeatedly that Russia needs trade, and that commercial

intercourse with Russia means not only help for Russia but for all of Europe.

Russia needs transportation facilities badly. Her greatest need is locomotives. Commander Greenfell says that engines ordered in Germany and ready for delivery have been held up in Poland. This may no longer be true since the recent conference between the Soviet authorities and the Polish government. But the fact that they have been held up at all is a crime against the starving people of the Volga region.

If there are large stores of grain in Roumania and Bulgaria which can be sent to Black Sea ports in less than forty-eight hours, it seems incredible that these supplies are withheld at the instigation of the authorities in Paris and London. And yet greater injustices than this have been done the people of Russia during the past three years!

There is no question but what we as a people should respond out of our abundance to the cry of need that comes from the stricken people of Russia. Whatever may have been and are the crimes of those who now sit in the "Seats of the Mighty," we cannot turn deaf ears to the moaning of mothers and the weeping of little children. But while we give of our money, even more it appears to be our duty, as the evidence accumulates, to insist that America do its part in removing every disability that has been placed through greed and immoral fear upon the trade and commerce of Russia. If the bars are taken down, trade and commerce can then do their healing and merciful work.

ARTHUR L. WEATHERLY.

Intermezzo

Will Irwin is writing about "how it feels to be forty-five." Francis Hackett confesses that he is "coming to middle age." My boy wore a tuxedo for the first time last week, and is studying to enter college next fall. It must be that time is passing, and that I am no longer young!

It is these outward signs that flash the warning, however, not any inward feeling. If put on oath, I would perhaps be forced to state that I do not react from extreme exertion with quite the immediacy that I did ten years ago. I certainly sleep as soundly as ever; but when I lose sleep, as I always do in the winter when speaking engagements are numerous and train trips slow, I seem to miss it more than formerly. A long, searching look in the mirror reveals some gray hairs. On the other hand, I can work longer and harder than ever before; can stand nervous strain and excitement with an ease today that was impossible yesterday; and have almost entirely rid myself of ailments—headaches, for instance! which were once an abiding nuisance. Matching the man I am against the man I was, I would bet on the former every time!

But if the body is thus only gaining strength with the passing years, what about the mind? Isn't that where middle age shows itself, as old age shows itself in limbs and arteries? Wasn't it Harvey who said that no man learns anything new, or is even hospitable to new ideas, after forty? Look at your brain cells, not your hairs! Aren't you already getting old-fashioned and reactionary? Don't you think this is a pretty good world, after all? Isn't the arm-chair of conservatism becoming comfortable, the slippers of convention warm, and the glowing hearth-fire of the *status quo* a cozy abiding-place?

Well, may be so! But I'm not aware of it! For five years or more I have been on the watch for the first symptoms of hardening of the brain cells. I have been waiting for the moment when I should find myself outraged by the heresies of some young whipper-snapper who ought to be spanked soundly and put to bed. I have been all on the *qui vive* for the thrilling experience of meeting a new idea which should not interest me tremendously but shock me horribly. But nothing happens! So far as I can make out, I am about forty times as radical as when I was born, at least twenty times as radical as when I entered the ministry. If anybody has something new to say, I want to hear it; if anybody is taking ship for a voyage in unchartered seas, I am eager to embark. I cherish a kind of longing to taste every variety of experience; but I still wait in vain for the experience of meeting a man or a movement that seems to me dangerous, or an idea that ought in decency to be suppressed. I suppose if I live long enough, my time may come; some day I may have a shock of mental paralysis which will leave my brain as stiff and my heart as cold as a withered limb. But, may I not "live long enough"! May I die first!

No, I'm not old yet! Forty years have gone—and with them, I suppose, has gone much that can never be restored. This old tenement of mine, used hard through all these years and seldom repaired, is bound to get out of kilter, before long. But I cannot for the life of me see why breakdowns here should ever change my soul. The mind may affect the body, but not the body the mind! I am immortal—so at least I believe; and I propose that my immortality shall begin right here and now, with a spirit free of every aging influence of the flesh. As the hand of fate drags me unwilling into darkness, may I pass hailing in joy the newest and "reddest" ray of light that streaks the dawn!

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES.

How to Evolve a Better World

The problem of rebuilding our world is the problem of the harmonious adjustment and the co-ordination of production, distribution and consumption. Our civilization is bound to crash because its permanence depends upon the creation of artificial demands, upon production not co-ordinated to distribution, upon distribution not co-ordinated to consumption. The propelling force of our civilization is competition, not co-operation. In a word ours is not a civilization, it is a speculation, involving chance profits to the rarest few, chance losses to the many, wholesale inequality and suffering to the community at large. Ours is an age of machinery, and machinery has quite naturally divided the community into two broad classes: the machinery owners and the machinery operators. The products are consumed by both, but the machinery owners are in a favorable condition—they can exploit, and the machinery operators have no other go but to be exploited. The oft-repeated adage of Lincoln obtains in the American democracy and yet America needs rebuilding: the government here is a government of the people, that is, of the consumers; for the people, that is, for the producers; by the people, that is, by the owners of the forces of production.

Society is a living organism, and like all organisms it is subject to changes. Thus from primitive anarchism, society developed—did it not also degenerate? . . . into barbarism, from barbarism into despotism, from despotism into feudalism, from feudalism into capitalism. From capitalism the current seems to be flowing toward socialism—and naturally; from socialism in times to come with which we are not concerned now, society is sure to relapse into anarchism. I do not pigeonhole socialism into any definite creed or dogma. By socialism in the broad sense I merely mean the elimination of the "profit motive" in industry, the substitution of co-operation for competition in society, and the proper adjustment of the forces of production, distribution and consumption.

There are today three programs launched, all of which are contributing their quota toward the evolving of a better world: Dictatorship, Co-operation and Non-Co-operation.

(1) *Soviet Russia and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.* The world has not yet ceased rubbing its eyes at the magnitude of the tremendous epoch-making phenomena in Russia. Here are a couple of hundred million people oppressed and exploited by the autocratic czarist regime. Secret underground societies spring up. The youthful spirits, ardent visionaries of a new social order in Russia, are dedicating their lives to the cause of educating the masses, whose illiteracy is colossal. They carry on propaganda, they organize strikes, they are exiled, they travel from country to country, from continent to continent; and at last on a beautiful day, right in the midst of the throes and agonies of the war, the czar is expelled and the state is captured by the owners of the forces of production with the aid of the producers. Long suffering has taught them that the petty bourgeois is the petty czar, and so the producers paralyze and weaken the bourgeois government and capture the state.

The program of the producers: Capture of the state, by "All Power to the Soviets;" Dictatorship of the Proletariat; Utilization of the machinery of state by strict organization and discipline. Russia's goal as outlined and promised by the Communists is "Land to the Peasants," "Factories to the Workers" and "Peace to All the World." Politics are so intertwined with economics that the capture of the state is the *sine qua non* of the successful introduction of any socio-economic reform. The Communist party did this. They captured the state and have been holding it for the last four years. Having captured the state, they argue, "We cannot afford to have any reactionary or counter-revolutionary in our midst. If such there be, they shall have no voice in the management of the affairs of the people. We are absolutely for the good of the people: *we are the people.*" Hence their Dictatorship. One cannot reasonably quarrel with such a strong attitude. You have not to obey orders superimposed upon you by others—you have merely to impose upon yourself a Dictatorship of yourself for your own good. If you can identify yourself with the Bolsheviki (the majority) in this attitude, you get along very well; if not, you are doomed. If the Dictatorship of the Proletariat relaxes its tight grip just a little, the Russian Revolution will collapse the very next day. To secure the fruits of the Revolution for posterity, the Communists are enforcing strict labor discipline—regular bureaucratic methods without the taint of a bureaucracy, as in India!

Is Land secured to the Peasants? Are Factories secured to the Workers? Is Peace secured to All the World? Soviet Russia has not yet carried out to the full any of these. She is not at all to blame. What little she has achieved in the face of tremendous odds speaks highly for her. The Capitalistic States did not want to recognize, nor did they want to trade with, a Communist State. They stirred up trouble for Soviet Russia, the bourgeoisie at home and abroad. Blockade, insufficient, inefficient means of communication, lack of provisions, wars and battles, lack of appliances, mechanical and medical, starvation, disease and famine: these dark clouds have been looming ominous on Red Russia ever since its inception! And yet Russia is marching triumphantly to her goal! She has had to make compromises—yes, she did—but the torch she has lit shall carry its red flame all over the world. Soviet Russia stands for Industrial Democracy, saying that all political representation is a fraud and a humbug. Soviet Russia is eliminating the "profit motive" in industry by nationalizing the means of production; Soviet Russia aims at "no indemnity, no annexation and self-determination to all the nations of the world." The Soviet is not a hybrid product: it is an indigenous institution of the land. Bolshevism did not make the revolution; the revolution made the Bolsheviks. The revolution is not the product of Lenin; Lenin is the product of the revolution, which does not date from 1917 nor from 1905 but from well-nigh a century past. The world is immensely interested in the mighty experiment of the simple folks of Russia.

(2) *Western Europe and Co-operation.* The west of Europe does not like Russia's methods, even though it may sympathize with her ideals. This, however, ought to be made clear: that the violent methods used by Russia are not characteristically Russian: they are hers by necessity, not by choice. It is remarkable that the violent methods of Russia are characteristic of the West as a whole—shall one say they are the climax of *Christian civilization?* The rest of Europe does not like Russia's methods, maybe because she is

so successfully using their methods! That, however, is by the way.

Europe today is in bankruptcy. The last war has toppled down crown and scepter. The social system is disrupted. It is all confusion—instability. Who knows, this perhaps may be the last of the much boasted civilization of Europe! But there is a faint glimmer of light twinkling in between these dark, dismal clouds of chaos in Europe. Russia has found her moorings in the Soviets; where are the moorings in the rest of Europe—in one word, the Co-operative Movement.

The Co-operative Movement aims at righting the economic wrongs of the present Capitalistic Society. It has nothing to do with political manœuvering. It first organizes the people as consumers. This constituency of consumers supplies itself with clean, reliable goods at market prices. But the profit does not go to the middle-man as in private business. Here the profit is accumulated. Part of it goes to defray the expenses of educating the people, part goes as dividends. This constituency is different from the rest of Society, in so far as it is both a consumer and a distributor. Nay, in due course of time, this selfsame constituency becomes a producer. In Soviet Russia the producers who are the government, produce, the consumers who are the government, consume, and the government which is the people, distributes. A highly efficient and advanced Co-operative Society is at once a *consumer,* a *producer,* and a *distributor.* The Co-operative Movement does not deny the order of things established by Capitalism; in fact, it takes the present Capitalistic order as its basis. In the beginning it accepts Capitalism with a view to destroying it in the end. A gradual process, a slow development—but a sure pathway. Sovietism makes a clean cut of Capitalism in the very beginning by denying it. If Capitalism persists in asserting itself, Sovietism destroys it—aye, even by violent methods! Overwhelmed by Capitalistic hounds, Soviet Russia sounds the bugle to truce; she makes a compromise and marches on as merrily as before. Soviet Russia had no other course but to make the shortest cut of Capitalism, awaiting the future developments. And the rest of Europe cannot very well take a leaf out of Russia's book. The past convulsions of which there were legion, had unfitted the other nations of Europe for a titanic revolution like Russia's. Their pathway is sure, though long; their goal is the same, though far away.

The Co-operative Movement has attained the highest pitch of efficiency in Germany. The German efficiency and genius are being brought to bear on this important economic question of society; how to organize the raw materials efficiently, how to manufacture them efficiently, how to distribute them equitably, how to consume them properly. The War made of Germany a wreck. She would have found a bottom in the ocean of chaos; but the Co-operative Movement held. In small countries like Holland or Denmark, the Socialists do not quarrel as to whether they represent the left wing or the right; they are co-operationists. This industrial system organized with a view to removing the wrongs incidental to capitalism, is entirely immune from political strifes and squabbles. It is non-political in character and is not dependent for its existence upon the success of one party or another in government. If the political machinery does not intervene, the co-operative movement promises to carry us along the self-same path to a stage when no governments will be needed.

But politics, as I said before, are closely intertwined with economics; more so in the West. Hence the nations of Europe cannot afford to sit silent while their political bosses lose sight of the direction in the midst of a storm. We are organized through and through by politics. In the twentieth century we can ill afford to keep away from politics. The Labor Parties or the Socialist Parties of the various countries have put forth their political programs, too. The most conspicuous among them is the program of the British Labor Party. The underlying principle of their program is the same as Soviet Russia; with this difference, that they eschew all violence—and dictatorship. They will capture the State—yes, they will—not by any violence, however, but by the ballot. They will organize the people as workers—workers either by hand or by brain—educate them, make them class-conscious and at the Parliamentary election capture the power from the bourgeosie. An intensive educational program, not violence. They will have no Dictatorship. So long as they are in power they will work for the benefit of the workers. So long as they are retained in power, they will carry on their program of of emancipating the workers from wage-slavery. They will nationalize mines, industries, etc.—not by force, though. They will run the machinery of State, so long as the people have confidence in them. From first to last, for their success, they depend upon efficient labor discipline. This, in brief, is the solution of the domestic problem. What about the international problems, with which England is notoriously complicated? It is not good taste to impute bad motives to a re-construction program like the British Labor Party's! Suffice it to say that the English laborite is more radical at home but more conservative and Imperialistic abroad than the laborite of any other country. The International—well, no matter whether the British Labor Party wills it or not—the International will realize its ideal of the one community of humanity, of the universal brotherhood of man!

In this program, there is compromise with the present order of society; there is co-operation with the existing political machinery. By co-operation and good will, they mean to capture the State; by co-operation and good will, they mean to retain the State in their hands; by co-operation and good will, they mean to evolve a better world for the British worker. We shall certainly be interested in the success of that program. With their genius for politics, it is expected, the British people may make this program a grand success.

(3) *India and Non-Co-operation.* What can be attained by co-operation with the political State in England can be attained in India only by non-co-operation with the present political machinery. In a way, India's problems are more complicated than the problems of Russia or the rest of Europe; and in a way, they are simpler. The problem of problems confronting India is: How to get rid of the British occupation of the land? Seventy-five per cent of the present ills of India are of her own making; twenty-five per cent are due to the British domination in the land. Disunited, they fought and fell—Hindu with Hindu, Mohammedan with Mohammedan, Hindu with Mohammedan. Provincial feelings, racial jealousies, caste

prejudices, unstable political conditions in the eighteenth century made it easy for Englishmen to make themselves masters of India—the flag follows trade. It is no use abusing the one or the other party; let nature test out the result—the fittest shall survive. England's aggressiveness is unpardonable; India's weakness in these days is condemnable. For a period of 160 years, India has been under British rule; two-thirds of India under direct British rule, one-third being under feudatory Indian princes. The darkest period in Indian history! India, who boasts of her high civilization, of the Vedas, of the Upanishads, of the Puranas, of Buddha, of Ashoka, of Vikrama, of Kalidas, of Akbar, of the Taj Mahal, fell into the hands of brigands, of adventurous upstarts, who had no moral scruples, who paralyzed Indian industries, who discouraged the spread of education among the people, who by heavy taxation, that is, by robbery, organized and civilized, made the richest country in the world the poorest! Economically India has been bled white, industrially she has been crippled, politically she has been wrecked, morally she has been stunted, physically dwarfed—these are a few of the many beneficent results of British Imperialism in India! But for these ills, India has to thank none but herself. Why was she so disunited? Why was she not organized? Why did she co-operate with the exploiting foreigners? Why did she not have the courage to refuse to co-operate with a foreign government in oppressing herself?

In these searching questions lies hidden the solution of the Indian problem. The people realize their past errors and are ready to correct them. The consciousness of national unity has broken down the caste barriers and provincial prejudices. They had refused to be fellow-brothers in prosperity, now they are with alacrity organizing themselves as fellow-sufferers in poverty. The insults and humiliations inflicted upon the people, the discrimination between the Indians and the Englishmen, among others, are the chief causes of Indian unrest. India's self-respect is being assaulted; India is seething with discontent.

The breach of promise to the Indian Mohammedans by the British Cabinet in the matter of the Khilafat, the partition of Turkey, and the unprovoked massacre of innocent, unarmed people (in Amritsar, April, 1919)—men, women and children—precipitated the volcanic eruption of the Indian Revolution. August 1, 1920, is a Red Letter Day in the history of India; this day on which the Uncrowned Prince of India, B. G. Tilak, died, was launched the Non-Co-operation (with the British Government) Program by Mahatma (saint) GANDHI. In September, 1920, the Indian National Congress met in an extraordinary session in Calcutta under the presidency of Lajpat Rai and ratified the Non-Co-operation Program.

The Non-Co-operation Movement is a unique movement in the world's history; it aims at attaining the objective without any bloodshed, without the use of any violent methods. It is a spiritual substitute for war. India is making a novel experiment—we are all interested in its success. The program is based on the recognition of the fact that *the exploiters exploit the exploited not so much by the force of the bayonet alone, as by the co-operation, active or passive, by the help, willing or unwilling, of the exploited themselves.* Let the exploited classes the world over realize this fact, and let them organize themselves and non-co-operate with the exploiting machinery of another class or of the government, as the case may be. To the degree to which non-violence is practised in thought, word and deed, to that degree is success assured. Gandhi's movement is a determined protest against the current conception of the West that Brute Force alone counts for success. India is endeavoring to demonstrate the eternal truth that Moral Force is superior to Brute Force.

The Technic of the Non-Co-operation Program (this is the first attempt at definitely stating India's program. So far as I know, no Indian leader has as yet definitely outlined the various stages of development): I. "Withering" away of the Imperialistic, bureaucratic State by peaceful, non-violent Non-Co-operation with it. II. To that end: organizing public opinion; creating Panchayats (Councils of the Five), authorized to function for the social, political, economic betterment of the community; affiliating the Panchayats to the All-India Congress, which body will thereby automatically assume the status of a Quasi-Socio-Political-State. III. The Quasi-State gradually and inevitably will take the place of the alien bureaucratic State. IV. Retention and utilization of State by organized public opinion, by the ballot—the gradual elimination of the handful of the bourgeoisie. V. Efficient, organized discipline to weed out entirely the roots of Capitalism and to operate the State—the government of the producers, for the consumers, by the distributors. VI. Harmonious adjustment of the economic forces the world over. VII. Peace and Good Will toward all—the New Era of Universal Peace.

Such, in brief, is the outline of the Indian program. It takes no cognizance of the ugly things, called Armaments which are the very symbol of present-day Western civilization. Not economic betterment, but spiritual uplift of humanity is the prime urge back of the movement.

Is such a program possible of attainment? Yes!—save for a few spasmodic armed attempts, the peaceful revolution of India is going on by leaps and bounds. Parents are not co-operating with Government schools, colleges and universities, and are sending their children to national institutions. Lawyers are suspending their practice in the government law courts, and people's arbitration courts are springing up everywhere.

Titles are being renounced by the title-holders, on the plea that the government which conferred these upon them has forfeited their respect and confidence. People are boycotting British goods and are giving a strong impulse to home industries. In lieu of the British machine-made, fine cotton goods, today people are putting on coarse Khadi, produced by the spinning-wheel and the hand-loom. People are non-co-operating with the government by refusing to serve in any government position, whether civil or military. Very soon they will launch the program of civil disobedience on the plea that "it is not desirable to cultivate a respect for the law so much as for the right." "No taxation without representation" is another plank in their platform; they will refuse to pay taxes to an alien government, which is not a government of the people, nor for the people, nor by the people. The "sundried" British bureaucrat has already realized that a peaceful "withering" away of the State in India is not an impossibility.

A word in regard to the constructive part to be

played by the Panchayats. Just as the Soviets are the spontaneous growth of the Russian soil, so are the Panchayats the spontaneous growth of the Indian soil. From times immemorial, the population has been rural rather than urban. Today 80 per cent of the population is rural and about the same percentage is agricultural. The villages have always had a Panchayat of their own. The Panchayat consists of five prominent persons elected by the village community to supervise and safe-guard their interests. In the West the tendency in government is toward centralization, in India toward decentralization. The village community has always—prior to the British occupation of India—enjoyed an autonomous self-government. The village community is a perfect unity in itself: it maintains its own carpenters, smiths, physicians, merchants, traders, laborers, teachers, weavers—in fact, all crafts and occupations necessary to the maintenance of civilized society. In the Panchayat used to be vested the powers of the legislature, of the executive, of the judiciary and of the police. A number of villages would form a district, a number of districts would form a bigger unit and so on, administration being based on the federal principle of government. The government at the top may change hands, but the village communities would remain undisturbed. This excellent democratic institution, suited to the needs of India, was destroyed by the British. Now it is being revived; now it is being affiliated to the All-India Congress. If the Panchayat in each village takes up —and it is expected that it will take up—the additional function of the Co-operative Credit Societies (started by the British Government), then it will be a tremendous force in the life of the community. The mighty British Empire, upheld by super-dreadnoughts, by machine-guns and by aeroplanes, will wither away under the scorching sun of a community of two thousand people in a single village in India! "All Power to the Panchayats!"—let this slogan be carried out and the Indian Revolution is consummated; a new chapter will have been written in the history of the world!

We are all intensely interested in the mystic program of the mystic people of the East. Who knows what is hidden in the womb of futurity! This much at least is clear, that we see the approach of the Dawn of a New Day!

India. HARIDAS MUZUMDAR

CHOICE.

I'd rather swing in a pine tree's branches
With the wind for a fiddle bow,
And play gay tunes on the quiv'ring needles
To the dancing flowers below—

Or sit on a horn of the low-hung moon,
And paint clearly with touches proud
Most gorgeous sunset that ever was
On the back of a fleecy cloud—

Or stroll on the road of the milky way,
Closely wrapped in a star dust coat,
Or coming at last to the singing sea
Push off in a cloud for a boat.

I'd rather do any such useless thing
When my body is dead and cold,
Than fly around heaven on angel wings,
And play on a harp of gold.

LILY O. WILSON.

Leadership and War

In a recent UNITY, protest is made against Prof. Charles Richet's assertion that probably if ten selected men of power had at the start been killed, the world war might have been prevented. UNITY believes that great forces of public opinion brought on the war, which, given such forces, it must sooner or later have been inevitable. It is a discouraging view. The question is not an academic one. It has a practical bearing on the problems of today.

Andrew D. White was of the opinion that the war could have been easily avoided by the change in the policy of a very few people or the change in a very few events. The assumption that UNITY makes implies that an immense amount of education and a conversion of the temper of whole nations is needed before war will be eliminated from the world. This view gives no encouragement for immediate results. It fails to recognize how the work of a few men in Independence Hall in the summer of 1787 has kept the peace around the border line of each one of our 48 states, despite the fact that lynchings, murders, disorders and unregenerate peoples have disgraced the history of each state. A few men made it possible for a hundred million to keep the peace between one state and another without any change in human nature.

I hold with Lord Bryce that great masses of the people are swayed by a very few leaders even in a democracy and, once a decision is made, there is a feeling of sanctity about a *fait accompli.* As he says, the larger the democracy, the less broken up into small units in which there is much conference between little groups, the greater is their reliance on chosen leaders. When one compares the political life of Holland and Switzerland or Denmark with that of France, or Great Britain or the United States, the force of Lord Bryce's word is evident. Great and small are relative, but we can understand how Montesquieu, unable to foresee our miracles of quick and extensive intercourse, pronounced a large republic impossible.

In every land, of course, the great majority are chiefly concerned with industrial and local questions and have little data to guide them in consideration of great foreign policies that may more profoundly affect their personal fortunes than any national issue that may arise. They are bound, even in a democracy, to leave in great measure the settlement of these questions to the powerful few. Far-reaching results depend on the wording of great documents. Had our Constitution required only a majority, instead of a two-thirds vote for ratification of treaties, or had a dozen "Irreconcilables" held opposite views, this country would probably have been for over a year in the League of Nations and, if so, the Russo-Polish war and the Greco-Turkish war might have been prevented and an impetus and confidence given to despairing peoples that would have saved unknown numbers from perishing.

The majority of our voters wanted us in some genuine co-operation with the other nations in the League of Nations, as it is or as it might be modified. But not one in fifty had read the Covenant and few who had read it had studied it or realized how it was being misinterpreted to suit political ends. The election vote was guided chiefly by 31 eminent Republicans outside the Senate who thought a vote for Harding was our best assurance of entrance into the League in some

form and the influence of a few "Irreconcilables" who did not want it in any form, all told, including some editors, perhaps 50 men.

The fate of nations has often hung on the will of a dozen men. Had the Kaiser and his responsible advisers instructed their delegates at the first Hague Conference in 1899 to co-operate with the United States and Great Britain regarding reduction of armaments, and at the Second Hague Conference in 1907 to co-operate with the other nations in regard to arbitration, the world war in all probability would not have come. Prof. Schücking, the German pacifist, counts this attitude of Germany at those conferences as the culpable and fatal blunder. Had Disraeli not gone to the Berlin Conference and torn up the treaty of San Stefano and so laid the foundation for the eastern half of the world war, and had not Bismarck been finally overpersuaded to take Alsace-Lorraine, as a protective measure, the western half of the world war which, after France entered, dragged in the other nations, would in all probability not have come and war both east and west have been prevented. In either case, the English *people* and the German *people* would at the time have known and cared little about the decision and would have acquiesced in a contrary decision as readily as they did in the one that was made.

Five hundred club women who have a legislative measure presented by a small committee that has studied it in detail will, three times out of four, at once vote aye. The vote might as readily have been aye to table it, if the recommendation had been to that effect. In short, a few informed or misinformed but determined persons who are put in power can and do sway the masses and shape history. This is no plea for underestimating the importance of public opinion. We need eternally to arouse and enlighten it. But it is only when it is possible to get unbiassed statements from the press, to know for certain what are actual facts, and when issues are simple and clear that public opinion can decisively and wisely shape decisions on foreign policy. Questions like those which concern the Orient and are coming up for settlement in November are too complex and remote for decision by the public; where an issue is a comparatively simple one, like that of disarmament, public opinion may be the dominant factor. But even then, if the 25-30 men who meet in Washington are not wisely selected, the Conference may miscarry and what we believe to be the real will of the peoples again be frustrated. This is why our first duty is to influence our own delegates, while now and throughout the conference, public opinion must bring constant pressure.

What I offer is not a plea for less emphasis on the need of public opinion but rather a word of encouragement to believe that mighty changes may be made rapidly if only the right men are put in power and given instruction from the voters as to main principles that must control. It is a rebuttal of the prevalent notion that great mass instincts and traditions can only be slowly modified by generations of education. Had perhaps thirty men, including Treitschke who shaped the thought of the leaders of thought, and the leading monarchs and militarists been of the mind of Prof. Nicolai or Jan Smuts the war would not have come. The people would never have demanded it or of themselves created the traditions and conditions which brought it about. This thought gives vast encouragement to those who believe that when governments make it easy to do right and let man's latent deviltry lie dormant, war will end between nations and long before murders and revolutions have been abolished. Let the open door and justice prevail in Asia and the invading powers who are trying to fatten on China be curbed and the latent resentment of 400,000,000 people which might flame into future war may be left as lifeless as a seed in the mummy of an Egyptian tomb.

The *Manchester Guardian* recently published a picture that might well thrill every beholder. It was of a throng whom no man could number, and said to be 100,000 carrying banners and massed around the great cathedral in Berlin on the anniversary of the declaration of war seven years ago. These converted followers of Hindenburg had met to proclaim the down-fall of their old philosophy and to announce in the name of a Republic the gospel of peace.

LUCIA AMES MEAD.

A PSALM.

Written On the Eve of the Peace Conference at Washington.

You prophets of the undying splendors of the golden age;
You towering souls, unbroken by storms, proud and unsurrendered;
You unknown saviours and redeemers of men, dreamers of great and terrible dreams of love;
Speak the magic word that shall rally the broken world to God.
You unknown prophets toiling in ignominious slums;
You unheralded saviours upon some star illumined mountain peak, holding communion with the eternities;
You seers of visions undimmed by hate;
The ages cry to you—Believe what you see and hear. Greatly dare! Come forth from the deserts and waste places of doubt.
Thunder the mighty word prophetic.
Sear the sky with your spiritual lightenings.
Behold the multitudes of earth,—bent, torn, staggering —cursed with the ancient curse of Cain.
Behold the multitudes lift their shackles to you in unutterable agony of longing.
Behold a world impotent with hate, lashed to a living death by the fury of war, a world stricken, broken hearted.
Out from the burning heart of the world, arise, ye who would be great.
In organ tones that shake the skies and make the mountains tremble,
Proclaim the deific word of love, the word creative, universal; love, the tocsin ringing the world revolution; love, the great emancipation.

CLARENCE R. SKINNER.

GOD AND MOUNT DESERT.

Lord of this sparkling sea—
A sapphire clasp about these emerald shores,
Where white-winged birds and wind-swept clouds fly free
And round whose cliffs a surge of music pours—
Should veiling fogs my heedless course o'erwhelm
And shifting currents make my boat their sport
Lay thy sure hand on the obedient helm,
Guide me to port!

Lord of this smiling land—
Whose gray-topped hills like granite altars rise,
Within whose templed woods the fir-trees stand
Offering their incense to the azure skies—
Oh when upon these forest paths I fail
To find the way where I, bewildered, roam
Set thou my feet upon the heaven-blazed trail
That leads me home.

The Christian Register. —*Edward A. Church.*

A Song

"The name of the song is called 'The Disarmament Conference.'"

"Oh, that's the name of the song, is it?" Alice said, trying to feel interested.

"No, you don't understand," the Knight said, looking a little vexed. "That's what the name is *called*. The name really is 'The Beau Geste Bluff.'"

"Then I ought to have said, 'That's what the song is called?'" Alice corrected herself.

"No, you oughtn't: that's quite another thing! The song is called 'A Sop to the Public Cerberus': but that's only what it's *called*, you know!"

"Well, what *is* the song, then?" said Alice, who was by this time completely bewildered.

"I was coming to that," the Knight said. "The song really *is* 'A Conference to *Continue* Armaments': and the tune's my own invention."

Like Alice, many people are completely bewildered by the reports of the conference on armaments. Almost everyone seems willing to admit that war is a terrible thing. The Germans, whom the man in the street has been led to believe started the late war, are hated and anathematized for that reason. War was considered so frightful that many people rushed into the late war saying it was to be made "the last"! Yet, incredible as it appears in view of the recent great object lesson, few people will admit that they are wholly opposed to it. We were urged to back General Wood for the Presidency "because he was so splendid on *preparedness*." The man who speaks unreservedly against war on the street corner, in the club or drawingroom, is shunned—he becomes a pariah. In this "land of the free" where we have no "classes" can anyone risk his position for a mere principle?

A minister, at a gathering of Unitarian clerics and laymen in Boston, quoting the Sermon on the Mount, to strengthen his protest against war, was hissed by the pious assemblage! A debutante of the Athens of America, in 1917, exclaimed: "How thrilling to have the season end with a war" and the mother of two children said to the writer in 1914: "I've had three new hats out of the war! Father's in wheat!" These are a few samples of the frivolous, all too predominant attitude of people in regard to war. To them the conference is a matter of almost total indifference.

War is still perfectly good form. Opposition to it is very bad form. No clergyman, who respects his hearers and his salary, preaches against it. From a certain Boston pulpit, a couple of years ago, the encumbent thundered forth that were Christ to return, then, to this world it would be "in khaki, in the trenches, shooting Germans!"

The Press, America's chief intellectual guide, does not dream of advocating disarmament. What would big business say to such a policy? Has money ever side-stepped for ethics?

We have conquered our natural passion for settling our own personal disputes with violence. Dueling is no longer good form! We resort to the law. But big business, as a rule, was not effected by private murder. When it came to trade conflicts in which, however, there was no personal passion involved, the affair took on another aspect. Man with no quarrel with his "enemy," without even seeing him, was now ordered forth to slay him, with a sword, a gun, a submarine, an air bomb, gas, or starvation—the latter a popular practice because it destroyed the old men, women, and children, behind the fighting lines. "If the German children die, then there will be fewer Germans," once said a Boston lady.

The pocket nerve now feels the strain of taxation. The up-keep of the war system is a terrible burden upon it! Let there be a Conference to lessen this burden but in the name of God don't do away with a system so useful in destroying trade rivals! That would be the last wish of the pocket nerve! Many good and sincere people will be cheered by this "beau geste" of a conference. Let them have their joy of it, but they can't really expect the sacred arts of war to be entirely given up for those of peace. Religious teachings are, of course, desirable. On with the costly construction of our cathedrals and churches—work must be found for the idle—but to consider such teachings as possibly practical is absurd! Why the Bishops themselves advocate war and drape the altars with the flags of conflict.

The books that sell, the papers which are read, the speakers admired, the clergy who retain their salaries, the plays that draw, the "movies" that thrill, the songs that stir, the pictures that inspire, all these favor war. Why do we have a conference on disarmament? Who really wants to do away with war?

Let Congress appropriate another billion for poison gas, and not spend the people's money on "armament" conferences! The abolition of war is no more desired by the people than one of the White Knight's "inventions"!

E. Ahlborn.

A Book a Week

Mary Badollet Powell Memorial

A Garden By the Sea. Twelve Short Stories. By Forrest Reid. Dublin: The Talbot Press, Ltd., London: T. Fisher Unwin, Ltd.

Forrest Reid, of Belfast, is one of the deserving heirs of Robert Louis Stevenson. I do not mean to say that he is an imitator of R. L. S. or that his art derives from him in any special way; it might easily be that Reid has never heard the name of Stevenson. What I have in mind is the undeniable fact that there are certain forms of art that are employed by different artists in similar ways and so are bound to be more or less related in the critic's thought. The short story, of course, is one of the most democratic art forms, and it is well that it is so. Reid would be but performing his duty if he took cognizance of Stevenson's work and even profited by his experience.

This brings me back to my first thought about this book, namely: that the critic expects more of a short story writer in this year of grace 1921 than ever before since men began to be *raconteurs*. One remembers the Russians and the French and even that ancient Greek maker of fables, and one instinctively challenges one's contemporary to do as well. The fact is that it is not enough to say that such a writer is "the peer of Poe" or such another "as good as O. Henry." There is a righteous demand for something better than these masters of yesteryear; and why not, in all conscience? Are we not to make progress from generation to generation? Are the pen-workers of today less able than their teachers of old time? We dare not ignore the demand for advancement in any sphere. We *must* do better than ever was done before. So it will come to

pass that our children will be inspired—even driven—to attain what all the others who have made rhymes or chipped stone or told tales in all ages have struggled toward. I am an optimist in this. I believe that despite our faults we who live today surpass in the beauty of our dream and in the valiancy of our endeavor the era in which our roots are fixed to no less degree than our children in the free world to come will joyously excel every one of us.

Returning to the evidence in hand: I salute Forrest Reid as a first-rate craftsman, and I declare my sincere belief that he has surpassed the older story-makers in many definite ways. I think he sees more clearly than Poe and with a much more honest intention than Kipling and Conan Doyle; his work is truer work, his romanticism is not the pure product of fevered imagination—it is "founded on fact," so to say, it bears a direct relation to things as they obviously are; but it *is* romanticism. His realism, on the other hand, is not mere photography; it is interpreted, presented in the best manner. I believe that Reid is equipped to do the very finest writing. In a word, he is a banner-bearer, a leader in his class, one of the best.

These twelve stories are a rare collection. They are beautifully conceived and patiently and lovingly told. Two errors occur, as I shall specify hereafter, but with these exceptions these stories are as nearly flawless as any human effort may be.

The first piece, from which the book draws its title, is really not a story at all. It is an example of literary gymnastics, a marvelously touching exhibition in descriptive writing—just that. Nothing happens; there is no plot. It is merely a picture painted in adjectives. But that it is surpassingly lovely is, I suppose, the important thing. It survived six readings.

"The Reconciliation" is a thoughtful study of a weak little schoolmaster's struggles in the grasp of a pretty barmaid he has married—he loves books and the sea; she loves "the movies" and Belfast-town. Not strong or cruel enough to beat the girl, he allows her to beat him and surrenders unconditionally in the end. A serio-comic sidelight on what is called "domestic life," cleverly written and with becoming moderation.

In the ghastly realism of "The Accomplice" the author might be Stevenson himself; it is a story that thrills and frightens one; it is flawless, the perfect invention of a fine mind with a penchant for bizarre experimentation. Among tales of horror and mystery it deserves a high place. But the class to which it belongs is not the highest. The idea and the skillful expression of it in terms of perfect verity merit commendation, but not necessarily the *sort* of idea.

"An Ulster Farm" is an amazing study in human wretchedness, realism in the most brutal sense of the word. Its tragic end is weakened by the fact that one of the principal characters in the earlier action of the tale is ignored and forgotten in the close. He is shown murdering his drunken brother; the author drops him at that ghastly point—no further mention of him is made, though every other character is listed in the concluding paragraph. The reader's natural query is: what about Michael? There is no answer. Yet Michael, supposedly, is the "hero" of the narrative.

"Courage" is in my opinion the finest thing in the book. It is a fantasy, done in grey and purple tones, a fable as fine as the best of Oscar Wilde's, a prose poem of remarkable and enduring beauty, reaching the very soul. One sighs at the end, shudders, asks again the everlasting question: *Warum?* Beginning with a commonplace statement, rising through thickets of commonplaces, this story achieves a romantic isolation as complete as anything could be, reaches the pinnacle of imaginative genius—then crashes to earth in one swift sentence. One will remember this story for a long, long time; remember it with a superlative expletive—any of the usual things one says to represent the unusual things one feels.

"Costello's Story" might have been written by Algernon Blackwood; it is what might be called a "trick" story, without rational explanation. A young man relates a supposed meeting with the "spirit" of his mother. The psychologist would have a "scientific" theory to make it all plain; the Freud enthusiast would wade into the situation with a fool's senseless confidence, but the story writer knows better than to attempt the impossible. It is simply a fantasy, imagination run wild. Persons pretending to "psychic" talent will enjoy it. For my part, I prefer the author's realism, flavored as it is with his natural romanticism.

"Kenneth" is the one flower of this bouquet that might as well have been omitted. It is an allegedly humorous burlesque of the style, literary character and personality of a fiction writer of the Phillips Oppenheim school, a thing somewhat rarer, no doubt, in Ireland than in this country. The author represents "Kenneth" as a wholesale creator of "trash," which is probably an accurate enough portrayal. The point is that worthless writers are not worth writing about; life is too short for that sort of foolishness.

The tenth story of the collection, "A Boy and His Dog," is one of those smashing bits of writing that simply move a sensitive reader to the soul's depths—a story that only a stone man, if even that, could read aloud. The title is a warning. The theme is the friendship, love if you like, between boy and brute, one of the most pathetic themes in the world: the boy in nine cases in ten outlives his pet, and the parting is tragedy, stark and keen and unforgetable.

The final narrative is "A Trial of Witches," a recital of the testimony offered by a number of repulsive children at the trial of two old women at Bury St. Edmunds in 1665. The author by implication compares these witnesses—brazen little frauds—with the prevaricators who have imposed on gullible old gentlemen like Oliver Lodge and Conan Doyle. What sent old ladies to the gallows two hundred and fifty years ago now sends superstitious persons to libraries and book stores in search of "Raymond" and "The Erotic Motive" and to seances and psycho-analysis conferences. It is the sediment in the pool of life, stirred into notice and action in shallow vessels. As usual, those who are most deceived fondly imagine themselves nearest the truth.

Forrest Reid has written six novels and a critical biography of William Butler Yeats; if his larger work is to be judged by his short stories it is apparent that he is one of the men of special talent of whom we must know still more. He is a young man; probably he has just begun his creative life.

JAMES WALDO FAWCETT.

"Forward!" cried one, "for us no beaten track,
No city continuing, no turning back:
The past we love not for its being past,
But for its hope and ardour forward cast."

—*Henry Newbolt.*

THE FIELD.

"The World is my country, to do good is my Religion"

HUMANISTIC MANIFESTO.

The League for Humanistic Policy sends the following manifesto, translated from the Swedish. It has been issued by 142 Swedish people of different occupations, such as artists, authors, business men, engineers, farmers, officials, politicians, scientists, teachers and workmen.

With this document as a basis, a recently started Swedish National League is being organized. It has adopted the accompanying Fundamental Statute and means to publish a newspaper.

Besides private people, societies, unions and other associations may join the League.

As the aim of the League must be international, and as thoughts similar to those expressed in the Manifesto have been perceived in many parts of the world, the League wishes to get into communication with persons and institutions in other countries.

May we therefore beg you to study the Manifesto, spread a knowledge of it especially through newspapers, weeklies and magazines, discuss it with those interested and perhaps communicate with us to consider the starting of an international association.

Stockholm, April, 1919.

The Council of the League.

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Fundamental Principles

The history of the world is a story of conflicts between doctrines, while the verities have been overlooked. The doctrines principally build on the one or the other side of things and divide mankind. The verities seek to blend the spiritual and the material realities and unite men.

Hitherto theories and their practice have chiefly moved like the swing of the pendulum between unreconciled opposites, such as idealism and materialism, rationalism and empiricism, all expressions of the sun and the earth in man's nature. The doctrine of idealism as sole world reformer does not pay enough regard to material realities and ends in misty chimeras without any lasting effect upon life—soap bubbles which glisten for a moment in the sunshine and disappear. The doctrine of materialism as sole world reformer does not sufficiently take spiritual realities into account and substantially results merely in changes in the ownership of power, which do not improve humanity. The goodwill toward this is drowned in the end in pools of blood and in this way comes to nothing.

It may be that Europe will now not escape following out her one-sided materialistic doctrine and making still further sacrifices in hunger and blood. The day will come when humanity will long for salvation through a cessation of this conflict and through an intimate combination between the two separate sides of man's nature and of his work. To prepare the way for this uniting movement now is a worthy aim for all mankind.

Spiritually, in spite of individual gradations, we are all the same sort of people as regards intellect and character, however different our social position. The spiritual realities unite us. The concepts "all" within a nation and "humanity" internationally considered, must therefore be social and political conceptions. Materially, too, we are all the same sort of people in our needs. As to the ultimate aims of human effort in themselves, there is scarcely any conflict. These are fundamental principles.

That which always will give individuality to mankind is the natural tendency to self-preservation and difference in gifts. That which divides mankind is primitive selfishness. That which sharpens contrasts to the uttermost is the undeserved difference in the distribution of material goods and of opportunities of education, made possible by the protection given by the social organization to the planless production and consumption of material and spiritual values. This raises class against class.

Program

The abolition of these injurious conditions can only take place by economic reorganization and the cultivation of the soul simultaneously, with the support also of a real democratic constitution, that is to say an order of things which is based on the spirit of democracy and not merely on its outer forms.

To this end the following economic guiding lines, spiritual and political, must be constantly kept before us:

(1) *Economic Guiding Lines.*

The earth and its riches belong to all: it must be used only for rational ends and must be forbidden ground for those struggles for which it is at present the chief arena.

A safe home in community with nature is the inalienable need and right of every human being.

Production, exchange of commodities and means of communication must be organized so as to secure to the consumers the best articles at the lowest cost of production. The gamble for unearned profits is to be made impossible. Slavery under capitalism is to be done away with and instead work for one's own good and the good of all is to take its place. The credit system ought to exist to help people and not to make profits out of them.

The individual is to get its due and the community is to get its due.

In other words the present economic disorganization must cease to be a part of the highest social order.

(2) *Spiritual Guiding Lines.*

No social culture can be built up otherwise than upon the culture of the individual. No individual culture can be built up otherwise than upon spiritual and material factors in combination. No spiritual freedom can be gained by technical training alone: for this the cultivation of the soul is also required.

Everyone therefore has the right to a good education and a corresponding theoretical and technical instruction. The character building of the people must become one of the fundamental social duties, and everything be fostered which can secure the inner development of personality as well as of bodily health. But in the end individual activity is the most important thing: it is work which ennobles man.

The spiritual trusts arise in the same way and follow the same laws as the economic trusts. They acquire dominating influence over our souls, and therefore opportunities for their formation must be prevented. Spiritual capitalism is a terrible reality, just as is economic capitalism, and besides it is upheld by all political parties.

In other words, the present spiritual disorganization ought to cease to be a part of the highest social order.

(3) *Political Guiding Lines.*

Respect for human life must be an axiom; the abolition of capital punishment a necessity of civilization; the disarmament of mankind a vital question: "power without nobility and clemency something which we ought not to endure to see."

Respect for the consciences of others, consideration for the qualifications of others—their milieu, the endeavor to see the actions of others in the best light, chivalry in thought and manners, protection for the weak and downtrodden, for the minority against the majority, the cause before persons and parties, real democracy before formal democracy.

In other words, the present disorganization in the political constitution ought to cease to be a part of the highest social order.

Tactics

The way to freedom lies in the real personal emancipation of ordinary people, the citizens, the masses, from thralldom to doctrines and parties. The parties are a reflection of the present system. They represent one or some few sides of reality and life. They build on doctrines, seldom on verities. Such a narrow taking of sides fosters self-sufficiency, stifles the sense of personal responsibility, censures fertilizing opinions and causes sterility. All this produces on the one side masses who uncritically believe in and follow their leaders, and on the other side a new dominating class, sometimes honestly fanatical, sometimes insincerely demagogic, sometimes resignedly conservative. Everywhere at the parting of the ways we are met by authoritative guides to the doctrinal and party folds. Such one-sided and inadequate instruction too often means the demand for submission to something which is reserved for only a few to be able to understand.

Nevertheless men must some day be permitted to turn to themselves and to shape their own comprehensive philosophy. There they will discover a world of hard experiences, and amidst them they will find their own inextinguishable consciousness of right, a unity in multiplicity. We must all become human beings. Economic misrule breaks us down bodily. The materialistic domination in dogmas and the old party politics ruin us spiritually. The people—that is to say, all of us—ought to be permitted to become enlightened and sovereign, to be given opportunities to begin with themselves and to rule themselves. Thus

equipped, the people must, as individuals and through their organizations, step forward and take a direct part in the development of the world.

The policy of ideas and facts thus indicate desires practical results in things great and small. The ways must be many: they may sometimes go forward broad and well marked, or take a thousand directions according to convenience but always aiming at the goal and in touch with the principles above emphasized for tactics. These indications therefore must not, as in party politics, be demands that we make upon others, but must become rules of conduct which, despite the defects of human nature, we must attempt by degrees to apply to ourselves in our own policy.

By thus going straight toward definite comprehensible human goals instead of obscure prospects, by freely seeking contacts with verities instead of being slaves to doctrines, by building up a many-sided real policy instead of a one-sided party policy, by seeking to rally people with good-will instead of driving them away from each other by ill-will, perhaps even by learning more to love and less to hate, there should come over the work of the community a spirit powerful enough to rally public opinion to high aims.

In so far as men can freely unite in such a way of looking at things, political and social life is elevated from destructive party squabbles, with force as the extreme argument, to a cultural movement which will be productive and able to achieve something of lasting value. A right spirit alone can bring about what moderate laws can further but never create.

Humanism in the wide signification indicated above is not something standing quite by itself. It wishes to grow out of the present, as that has emerged from liberalism and socialism, which have recently been the two principal currents. Its program, as it is at present expressly conceived, also in the constitution of the Swedish Socialistic Parties, is to do away with poverty, prepare the way for economic and spiritual freedom for all, and level the paths for all to bread, freedom and self-responsibility.

But it is necessary, especially in these pioneer days, to take this program into practical life, to enlarge the conception of poverty so as to embrace not only the material, but also the spiritual need. Even what is called the State, which after all so essentially intervenes in our fortunes, should surely some day perceive that its functions also require a direct care for the highest values of life.

It is often said that the promotion of spiritual realities as a political factor side by side with the material ones, is the way of the solitary worker. At the present time, however, it should become in all the countries the way of many and, in course of time, the way of the majority. Moreover, this must take place some day, because the order of nature demands it, because it is the meaning of life.

In substantial accordance with these guiding principles, rightly understood and not misinterpreted by party spirit, we hereby invite like-minded people regardless whether they belong to one or other of the present parties:

to take part in a movement amongst all mankind with the following irrevocable and guiding aims:

by economic transformation and at the same time cultivation of the soul—also resting on a really democratic society—to transform all men into one single brotherly humanity without class differences.

January, 1919.

Fundamental Statute of the League for Humanistic Policy.

§ 1.

The object of the League is to unite men and women in common work for the ideas that have been laid down in the Humanistic Manifesto of the League.

The League works in harmony with similar movements in other countries, federated in an International Humanistic League.

The principles of the Manifesto must not be demands made upon others but must be guides which the members of the League, despite the defects of human nature, endeavor gradually to follow in their own policy.

§ 2.

The humanistic movement wishes to strive to work for a new policy built upon old truths and does not aim at creating a new party alongside of the existing parties. Members of the League who belong to definite parties may continue to belong to them and should work both within and outside them for the human principles of the League.

§ 3.

Membership of the League can be acquired by anyone who in essentials approves of the principles of the League, desires to promote its objects, and pays an annual fee of Kr. 1; members being, of course, at full liberty to contribute a higher amount to the expenses of the League.

The fellowship of the members is founded upon agreement in point of view and not upon arbitrary dictation. Its sense of solidarity lies in voluntary zeal for the common causes and in inviolable respect for the convictions of others.

§ 4.

The members of the League themselves decide about the business of the League. Consequently any question is submitted to a plebiscite when at least 50 members request it, or the National Congress or the Council of the League so determines. Resolutions of the National Congress may on the same grounds be submitted to a plebiscite.

A right spirit alone can bring about what moderate laws can further but never create.

§ 5.

The ordinary National Congress of the League is held every third year, and in the interval whenever the League so determines by a plebiscite or at a National Congress or through the Council of the League.

Every local section has the right to send to the National Congress one delegate and also an additional delegate for every fifty members, but not more than ten in all.

A private member of the League also has the right to be present at the National Congress, and the right to speak and make proposals.

Every member is given an opportunity to make use of his gifts in the work of the League.

§ 6.

The League appoints a Council of 15 members and 15 substitutes, whose term of office covers the period between two ordinary National Congresses. Of these members and substitutes 7 are appointed by plebiscite, 7 by the National Congress, and 1 by the persons thus elected.

The election of a member of the Council can be annulled by the electors and a new election take place for the remainder of the term. Such annulment can be effected by a plebiscite or at a special National Congress.

* * * *

The Council of the League appoints from amongst its members a President, a Vice-President, a Secretary and a Treasurer. No one may hold the position of President for a longer period than one year of the time covered by the election. The other offices should properly also change holders, so far as the Council of the League considers that to be expedient.

§ 7.

The duty of the Council of the League is to manage daily business, carry out resolutions, bring forward proposals, and do its best to secure co-operation between the local sections. The Council of the League has its seat in Stockholm. No decisions may be taken on important questions unless at least two-thirds of the members of the Council have pronounced their opinion.

Routine business and other less important matters may be treated in the way that the Council itself regards as most expedient.

* * * *

Urgent questions for the decision of which pronouncements cannot be obtained from all the members of the Council, may be provisionally settled by accessible members. Such decisions should immediately afterwards be submitted to the approval of the whole Council.

§ 8.

The ordinary National Congress appoints from among the members of the Council of the League three persons whose function as a peace committee shall be to try to settle—after due consideration, with impartiality and goodwill—any differences of opinion and complaints that may arise within the League in the period down to the next ordinary National Congress.

The ordinary National Congress chooses two auditors and two substitutes with the same term of office as the members of the Council of the League.

§ 9.

In every special place members of the League should join to form a local section. Such a section has the right to require a special moderate fee from its members which does not exclude the general public from joining. A member of the League is not bound, however, to belong to the local section.

The organization of the local section should be based on the spirit and intention of the Manifesto and this Fundamental Statute.

A local section should once a year, before the end of March, send in to the Council of the League an account of its proceedings and a report of the Board.

§ 10.

An election should not be made promiscuously. The electors should have an opportunity given them to consider the election. It should be a matter of conscience that people of all shades of

opinion and dispositions who desire to work loyally for the cause itself should, by the free will of all, be represented.

An election is conducted by ballot unless it be otherwise determined.

* * * *

§ 11.

Discussions within the League and its sections should, as far as possible, be carried on with forbearance and good-will. In order to gain time, increase ability and improve results, a speaker should of his own will seek to concentrate himself and avoid unnecessary repetitions. In order to further promote such an arrangement, to allow new contributions to make themselves heard and to concentrate replies, everybody who has announced his intention to speak and who has not previously spoken, shall be called upon before a person who has previously spoken, and he who asks to speak for a second time shall have precedence over the person who is speaking for the third time and so on.

This paragraph should be read aloud at the beginning of every meeting when an extensive discussion may be expected. Compulsory measures to cut short the discussion may afterwards occur only in cases of necessity.

§ 12.

The editors of any newspaper or other publication founded by the League, or of any publication that may otherwise be associated with the League, shall seek to promote truth alone, never distort a matter or promote injustice for the sake of friendship, jealousy, ill-will or fear, and feel themselves required by their sense of responsibility to a just furtherance of the freedom of the press and of everyone's right to avail himself of it.

Under no pretext may editors make themselves masters over the paper or its columns and thereby seek to form an opinion in conflict with the ideas of the Manifesto.

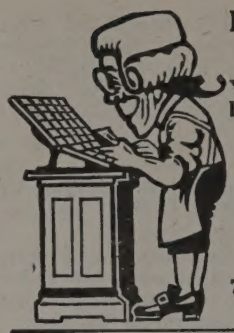
Spiritual trusts arise in the same way, and follow the same laws, as economic trusts. Spiritual capitalism is a terrible reality, just as is economic capitalism, and must therefore be prevented.

§ 13.

It is assuredly most profitable for the movement that the work should to the utmost possible extent be performed voluntarily by the members themselves out of zeal for the cause itself. So far as salaried commissaries and functionaries are necessary, the decisive grounds of appointment should not be membership of a narrow circle of friends, the need of a livelihood, or any such consideration. What is especially required is real devotion to the fundamental ideas of the Humanistic Manifesto, combined with technical skill for the task in hand.

The commissaries and functionaries of the League are to treat the public with courtesy and civility.

The minutes and proceedings of the League and its sections will obviously be kept open to every member of the League, who also will have the right to make copies. The only exceptions are when a decision on the matter has been made for any certain case or when it is obvious that some particular matter cannot expediently be made public. Any difference of opinion upon this point is to be referred to the Peace Committee, and in the last resort to the National Congress.



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§ 14.

Any alteration in the content of the Manifesto or this Fundamental Statute can be made by plebiscite or at a National Congress, but only after the Council of the League has expressed its opinion on the proposal. The Council of the League, however, may provisionally resolve upon minor additions to the Statute which prove technically necessary or have not been foreseen.